

December 15, 1956



THE NATION Voter

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE U. S.

1026 17th STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

TO BE, OR NOT TO BE, A NATION

REPORT FROM THE U. N., by Mrs. Oscar M. Ruebhausen and Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard, Observer and Alternate Observer at the United Nations for the League of Women Voters. [Second in a series.]

This question is being faced in many areas of the world by people in different stages of development. It is the reverse of the one Hamlet debated with himself as it is a question not of termination but of birth of new political life. It is being answered in many ways, but the trend is strikingly toward small independent nations.

The Chinese representative recently pointed out in the General Assembly that 18 nations now in that body were once colonies. He reminded delegates that while the movement toward independence was taking place among people dependent on Western powers, the Soviet Union had extended its control over other nations. He said: "Colonialism is dead, but not buried."

The "burial" takes a long time. Terrific struggles and almost insurmountable difficulties are encountered on the road from dependence to national sovereignty.

The dilemma of new nations is similar to the situation in some American homes today. As his first pay check comes in, the child decides to leave home and live in an apartment. The joyous feeling of being one's own boss without parental supervision is somewhat dampened when the rent comes due and household expenses mount. He realizes that freedom involves responsibilities.

Suddenly confronted with heavy expenses formerly borne by a colonial power, new countries have neither the money nor the trained personnel to provide services to

their people. Despite these lacks, the views of many new countries are epitomized by a U. N. delegate who said: "Good government is no substitute for self-government." Such a statement is shocking to many Western powers who believe self-government should be granted only when it means good government.

In trying to assess what the role of the United States should be, we must consider our obligations and interests from various angles. The colonial or Western European powers are closely linked to the United States. Because their emigrants became our citizens there

are strong ties of race, religion, philosophy, culture. We are tied together by trade. Military security is allied through NATO. One must ponder hard before jeopardizing this partnership by siding against the Western powers.

On the other hand, we have firm ties with the underdeveloped countries. We rely on them for tin, rubber, manganese—in fact for 73 per cent of our strategic raw materials. We need their support as military and political allies. Underlying these material needs is a spiritual bond with people who are seeking the independence we fought for in 1776. (See Page 2.)

FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

"The world crisis doesn't wait while Americans celebrate Christmas, and if there is something we can do and don't do, we might not be able to celebrate next Christmas." In these words one local president introduced the League's special project, FOCUS ON THE FUTURE.

In our effort to encourage informed and active participation of citizens in an area of government policy that has overriding importance for the future of the United States and the world, we are carrying out the purpose of the League in the truest sense.

It is less important that the League arrive at conclusions than that it stimulate individual action based on sound understanding. In its examination of the causes of the present world crisis, the League will be dealing inevitably with matters on which it has no position. This fact will provide additional encouragement to individuals to assume

their full and independent responsibility as citizens.

Already many Leagues have gone to work on the project with speed and satisfaction. Special Board and membership meetings have been called; workshops have been set up; TV and radio programs are being planned; cooperation with other community organizations is being explored; state Boards are offering all kinds of help. The League sees a need and will spare no effort to perform a vitally important service. We are proving our ability to adjust plans to political realities.

The happiest Christmas any of us can experience will be to see a lessening of world tensions and human suffering. To advance this prospect is worthy of the best that is in the League of Women Voters.

Ruey Marvin Lee
President

Our desire to see people free is tempered by the fact that the rise of many small countries whose internal resources are too limited for them to maintain themselves creates an unstable world situation. The new country usually cannot protect itself militarily, and its instability often provides fertile ground for Communist or other agitators.

In the United States we are faced with the policy decision of determining the extent to which we support colonial or anti-colonial powers. After World War II we actively endorsed the idea of independence by backing the Indonesians and fostering the creation of Israel and Libya as nations. Recently, we adopted a middle-of-the-road policy, sometimes supporting the colonial group and sometimes opposing it. At times we have taken a neutral position and attempted to mediate between conflicting viewpoints.

Most debates in the U.N. are affected by attitudes on colonialism. They impinge on political questions; trade and economic development; trusteeship matters; human rights, including the proposed right of self-determination; budgets; admission of new members.

The U.N. organ most directly concerned with the destiny of dependent peoples is the Trusteeship Council, which has under its supervision 11 trust territories.

Some of the territories are a carry-over from the mandate system of the League of Nations,

which placed under supervision of individual allied powers colonies detached from enemy states as a result of World War I. The principle established in the Covenant of the League was that the well-being and development of these territories, inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves, should be regarded as a sacred trust of civilization. Some of the original mandates, such as Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Palestine, are now independent countries. Others, such as Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, Western Samoa, are under the trusteeship system.

Besides trust territories which were former mandates, other territories, detached from enemy states after World War II, were added. Territories can also be placed voluntarily under the system by the states responsible for their administration.

The Trusteeship Council is kept informed of progress toward self-government by a series of reports from the country which is the administering authority in charge of the trust, by U.N. visiting missions, and by petitions from local inhabitants.

The first and only trust territory to exercise its right of self-determination is British Togoland. For nine years, the U.N. has been trying to discover the will of local inhabitants in this strip of land on the west coast of Africa. At first, there was a strong plea from the Ewe tribesmen who lived in the Gold Coast, British Togoland and French Togoland to unite their

people in one country. Then as the Gold Coast, north of British Togoland, approached a state of independence, a group of British Togolanders announced their desire to join with it. Each year, Togolanders, dressed in brilliant silk or cotton togas and speaking perfect French or English, have appeared before the U.N. to present conflicting views about future aspirations. Finally, after years of consultations and voluminous reports from three U.N. visiting missions, the General Assembly voted to conduct a plebiscite in British Togoland.

This truly democratic election was an historic landmark. The choice offered was union of British Togoland with an independent Gold Coast, or separation from the Gold Coast and continuance under

VOTERCIPHER No. 3

VOTERCIPHER is a cryptogram—writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. Answer No. 3 will be found in the next issue.

DBRPB VCTBX FOB IRA,
LOBVB VBRXKY VCTBX
FOB SEYI.
—LETTERS PKTTEYX

Answer to VoterCipher No. 2

Are you doing as much today for peace as you did for this country and civilization in the days of war?

—John Winant

trusteeship pending another arrangement.

Rival political parties put on a furious campaign, explaining the issues to Bushmen in remote villages and electioneering with noise and enthusiasm, all under the watchful eyes of the U.N. Mission. For the almost entirely illiterate people, balloting was by symbols. On election day, May 9, 1956, a majority of 58 per cent voted in favor of union. On December 13 the General Assembly voted to terminate the trusteeship and sanction union with the Gold Coast.

This story gives an abbreviated idea of the difficult process of becoming a nation by peaceful evolution. Self-determination is a complex problem when there are many "selves," little cohesion, and almost no experience in democratic

(Continued on Page 3)



Petitioners from Togoland at United Nations Headquarters

Liberty *and* *Security*

What do you think of the government's programs for protecting itself against subversion? Too strict or too lenient? Too comprehensive or too limited?

In search of answers to such questions, the League's 1956 national Convention adopted a Program item concerned with evaluation of the federal loyalty-security programs. The League does not yet have a position on proposals for change.

TO BE, OR NOT TO BE

(Continued from Page 2)

political action. It also illustrates the tremendous importance of petition, and the judgment which must be exercised by U. N. bodies in weighing evidence and reaching decisions.

Another function of the Trusteeship Council is to receive reports from countries concerning economic, social and educational conditions in their non-self-governing territories. Through these fascinating and detailed reports one can learn that in Swaziland there are 400 Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, in the Seychelles electric power is available only at night, and throughout the entire world there is a shortage of teachers.

The United States faithfully reports on conditions in our non-self-governing territories such as Alaska, Hawaii, and the Virgin Islands.

There is no obligation to guide these territories to self-government nor can the U. N. give advice on how to govern them. Yet the very fact that reports are submitted means the eyes of the world are watching to see if countries are actually promoting the well-being of peoples under their jurisdiction.

As the public opinion forum of the world, the U. N. reflects these uncontrollable demands for political independence and the insistence on outside support once the country is established. The crux of the problem is how to steer a moderate course so that progressive change is achieved by evolution rather than by revolution.

To aid members in studying the subject, the national Board has prepared a publication **Liberty and Security**, which is eliciting such praise from outsiders as "Nothing is more difficult than taking a complex, tricky subject and painting it in broad simple strokes that can be easily understood. **Liberty and Security** succeeds in this."

Excerpts from **Liberty and Security** appear below. (Save this VOTER for your League's unit discussion of the loyalty-security programs.)

EVER since our government was founded, we've been faced with the continuing task of finding just the right combination of "security" and "liberty." In fact, this country's strength has stemmed largely from our ability to reconcile contrasts and differences. This is reflected in our scientific inventiveness and our business enterprise, as well as our government.

Twin values of liberty and security raise this important question: Is our security system adequate and does it also safeguard basic American traditions of individual justice and fair play?

SPECIFIC PROBLEM

In less than ten years, the federal employee loyalty program, created to meet an emergency situation, has expanded into five loyalty-security programs. Combined, the five programs directly involve about 10 million people (one out of every 10 adult citizens in this country). Of this number, only 2.3 million are civilian employees of Uncle Sam. The other 7.2 million include men and women in uniform, merchant seamen, longshoremen, and employees of defense industries.

Circumstances have changed considerably since the programs were established, yet there have been few, if any, major alterations in the programs themselves.

Also, there has been a material change in the nature of scientific secrets. The 1955 Geneva Conference, where atomic scientists from all over the world exchanged information, began a new era.

Furthermore, the "Communists in government" issue is less emotionally charged today than it was a few years ago. This calmer climate of opinion forms a helpful backdrop to the many public and private groups offering proposals for change in the programs.

Concern over loyalty-security became especially intense after Soviet aggression abroad and Communist infiltration at home created an acute sense of danger to the national security. In varying degrees, each of the three branches of government has had a role in the development of the loyalty-security programs.

Congressional action has been piecemeal, ranging from riders on appropriations acts, to the 1939 Hatch Act, to Public Law 733 of 1950. These acts combined form legislative authority for the current federal personnel program.

The executive branch, as administrator, is concerned with the quality of its personnel. It shares with Congress the job of deciding what to do about the security of the country and the liberty of citizens.

The role of the judiciary is different from that of the other two branches. It sets outer limits of executive and legislative power in enforcing security and providing the minimum protection demanded by liberty.

The personnel screening programs were set up to prevent employment in government or other strategic areas of persons considered disloyal or "security risks." Substantive and procedural rules have been evolved for making these determinations.

Substantive rules, designed to provide a systematic way of determining who should be granted security clearance, are called **standards** and **criteria**. Standards are general statements indicating the degree of certainty an official must have in making a security judgment. Criteria are specific characteristics which aid in application of the standard.

Procedural rules for clearance are: 1) **investigation** to ascertain

whether there is derogatory security information about the employee; 2) screening to consider whether the information is substantial enough to call for filing of security charges; 3) hearing to determine whether employee meets the security standard; 4) appeal or review (in programs other than Federal Employee); 5) final determination by agency head.

RELATED OPERATIONS

Civil Service Regulations. About 85 per cent of federal civilian employees are in the competitive Civil Service. Extensive regulations covering "general suitability" also provide for removal on grounds of "reasonable doubt" as to loyalty.

Classification of Information is closely related to personnel security since it affects the programs' range of application. Programs and classification system both are designed to prevent espionage or harmful-to-security disclosure of information.

The Attorney General's List began under the Truman Loyalty Program in 1947 to guide government agencies in detecting subversives. It now includes over 300 organizations and is used not only in federal programs but also by state and local governments and private loyalty programs.

THE PROGRAMS THEMSELVES

Federal Employee Program covers the 2.3 million civilians currently employed by executive departments. The standard used for determining who should be granted security clearance is that employment must be "clearly consistent with the interests of the national security." A major feature is the high degree of decentralization. The head of each of 70-some departments and agencies sets up his department's own security program.

Atomic Energy Commission Program applies to AEC employees (6,000) and to employees of AEC contractors (80,000). Administered under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, the program is a combined industrial and employee security program. The standard is "whether clearance will endanger the common defense and security."

Industrial Security Program covers nearly 3 million employees of some 20,000 industries which have contracts with the Department of Army, Navy, or Air Force involving access to classified information. The program's authority does not stem from any specific act of Congress but is claimed under the 1947 National Security Act. The "clearly consistent" standard is used.

Port Security Program, which currently covers over 800,000 seamen and longshoremen, is the only one applying entirely to persons privately employed who have no connection with government. It is based on the Magnuson Act of 1950. The standard is whether the person's presence on a vessel or waterfront facility would be "imperilous to the security of the United States."

Military Personnel Program covers uniformed personnel of the armed services (3 million). Based on inherent disciplinary powers of the military organization, it was established by joint agreement of the armed services Secretaries in October 1948. The "clearly consistent standard" is used.

CRITICISMS OF PROGRAM

There are all shades of opinion among critics of the personnel screening process. They range from "tighten it up" to "alter certain features" to "scrap it completely."

Proposals for improvements have been presented in varying forms: complete blueprints; statements in terms of general principles; designs to change procedures; designs to change standards and criteria.

One of the most extensive blueprints available is the Report of the Bar Association of the City of New York. It calls for: 1) centralized administration of civilian programs under one head directly responsible to the President; 2) reduction of scope of program to cover only sensitive positions (the recent Cole v. Young decision of the Supreme Court so interprets present laws); 3) a simpler standard, based on "common sense" judgment.

CONCLUSIONS

How can we be expected to know what's right when even the

experts don't agree! Supreme Court Justices, members of Congress and the executive branch, as well as political analysts, are divided on what's to be done in this field.

When experts don't agree, does it mean "hands off"? Or is it even more important for citizens to understand the issues involved?

The loyalty-security programs have created new issues in the age-old problem of reconciling liberty and security. The process is never easy, is probably more difficult than ever today. It is possible that as more citizens share in the task of thinking through these knotty issues, the nation as a whole will come closer to achieving the best possible loyalty-security programs.

In evaluating any governmental program, it is helpful to have "yardsticks." For this purpose, the League is fortunate to be able to turn to its Principles, 18 statements representing general agreement reached by League members through 36 years of work in the field of government.

Try to measure the loyalty-security programs against the following concepts and questions which are suggested by five of the League principles:

Concepts—Consent of the governed; separation of powers; government by laws rather than by men; the spirit as well as the specific application of the Bill of Rights.

Questions—Do the programs provide clear lines of responsibility? Do they avoid overlapping, duplication, waste? What effects has the federal personnel program had on availability of qualified applicants, on morale and efficiency of federal employees, on prestige of the public service? What effects have the programs had on our foreign service? On our scientific research? On our defense and foreign policies? On other nations' attitudes toward us?

THE NATIONAL VOTER

Vol. VI December 15, 1956 No. 12
Published monthly by the League of Women Voters of the U. S.

1026 17th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

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DOROTHY FELKER GIRTON, Editor
Entered as second-class matter, April 3, 1951, at the Post Office, Washington, D. C., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year.

PRINTED BY MERCURY PRESS

